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RAILROAD PENSIONS

DENOUNCED AS A NEW METHOD OF LABOR COERCION.

Open Hostilities Threatened Against The Much Heralded Scheme of the Southern Pacific—Expose of the Injustice on Employees.

Again the employees of the Southern Pacific will probably have to face a determined effort on the part of the company to force a pension scheme upon them. Though the Company has had it made clear that the employees are undeniably and unanimously opposed to the inauguration of any such measure, still the enormous benefits accruing to the company should it be successful in establishing this new method of coercion are such that in all probabilities nothing short of open hostilities between the employees and the company will serve to deter the Southern Pacific in its attempts.

The following announcements appeared in the San Francisco Examiner of November 30th, and nothing further is needed to satisfy the employees that another effort is to be made to compel them to parties to a scheme which will require them to contribute a portion of their earnings every month for the maintenance of a fund that will be for the benefit of the company alone, and which, if firmly established, will most effectually make them subservient to every whim of the corporation.

"President Harrison of the Southern Pacific Company has approved a plan for pensioning employees grown old in the service of this company." is the announcement issued from the local offices of the company.

In a general way the pension scheme is outlined but this announcement is silent upon many details of operation. On its face it does not appear to be compulsory, but it is currently rumored that it has been designed in order to force the retirement of many old employees, including General Passenger Agent T. H. Goodman. Here follows the only explanation that is given out:

In general, the plan follows closely the pension systems heretofore established or now in operation on the Pennsylvania, Illinois Central and Chicago and Northwestern. Employees who have attained the age of seventy and have been in service twenty years or over are to receive pensions on the basis of 1 per cent. per annum on the average salary received for ten years previous to pensioning for each year of service. For instance, an employee whose pay averages \$1,000 per annum for ten years prior to retirement and had been in the service of the company thirty years, would receive a pension equal to 30 per cent of \$1,000, or \$300 per annum. Between the ages of sixty-one and seventy employees incapacitated for further work may be retired by a pension board selected from the department officers of the company, provided they shall have been in the service twenty years or more. The employees make no contributions to the fund, pensions being paid by the company in full and without any condition, the employees being at liberty to engage in other business after being pensioned should they see fit.

As to who originated the plan, how this pension board is to be selected, whether retirement at the age of seventy after twenty years' service will be compulsory, the announcement is silent and local officers of the company say they cannot supply the information.

The pension scheme of the Southern Pacific has been mooted again and again in spite of the fact that there is scarcely an employee of the company that views it with favor and it is safe to say that not a single employee who realizes the full purport of the system views the move on the part of the company other than in the light of a scheme to reduce their pay and make better slaves of them.

The Journal has from time to time published numerous articles exposing the enormous injustices which the so-called pension schemes inflict upon the employees. In this connection "Vorwaerts," a Berlin newspaper has just published an article in regard to the pension system that was inaugurated by Herr Krupp, who has been entangled as a philanthropist. The paper analyzes the pension system of the Krupp firm which, it says, is a "species of refined swindle," adding:

"The enormous so-called benevolent funds have been built up by compulsory contributions from the employees who could be arbitrarily deprived of participation in the advantages. They are required to contribute 2 1/2 per cent of their wages for twenty years before they are eligible to a pension upon disability. In the meantime, if an employee is discharged or resigns he loses all he had contributed, often exceeding \$250. Thus employees are morally and economically terrorized and must accept every petty reduction of the firm's officials or lose 2 1/2 per cent of what they have earned in the firm's service. This terrorism is applied to political opinions where they become known. The number of men leaving or discharged during the past three years averaged 7,000 to 8,000 yearly. The employees found the system so unsatisfactory that five great meetings were held this year for the purpose of seeking legal redress."

"The Vorwaerts cites an instance of a labor representative on the advisory committee of the pension fund who mildly criticized the management and who, several days later, having in the meantime published his annual dues was dismissed. Several railroads of this country have forced these schemes upon their em-

ployees, though a comparatively short time has elapsed since they were put in force, the employees are complaining loudly of their injustice.

There is not a single feature of the pension schemes that appeal to the employees, for their provisions are simply impossible except in one matter, and that is that the company reaps enormous benefits from the systematic robbery of the employees.

In the notice that appears in the Examiner it is especially stated that the employees will not be required to contribute to the fund, and that all the money required will be contributed by the company. It does not state, however, that the company will require the employees to sign agreements limiting the responsibility of the company and containing many other features that make the employees little more than slaves in fact by the terms of the agreement.

Probably at first the company will carry out its agreement and furnish the money, only requiring the employees to sign the agreement, but when the system is firmly established it can be depended upon that the company will find some pretext or other to levy very small assessments, and in time a pension system with all the details that are so bitterly complained of by the employees of the roads upon which it is in force will be forced upon the employees of the Southern Pacific.

If the company desires to reward long and faithful service the Railway Employees' Journal would be the last to speak ill of the move but when the philanthropic desire of the company makes its appearance in the guise of a "pension scheme," there should be no mistaking it, it is a move to secure a foothold for a systematic robbery of the employees, than which, perhaps, no better was ever devised, unless it be the wage system itself.

No employees should be deceived by any representations made by the company in order to get signatures to any pension scheme of any description. It is to be hoped that, in truth, the Southern Pacific is actuated by a desire to reward some of its old and faithful employees, but it should not be forgotten that if such is the desire on the part of the company, all that is required is that the company establish a pension roll and place on it the names of those men who are to be rewarded. It is not necessary to establish a pension scheme, and any move made to do so should be met with determined opposition on the part of the employees, individually and collectively.—Railway Employees' Journal.

CIVILIZATION IN AFRICA.

A large strong man, dressed in a uniform and armed to the teeth, knocked at the door of a hut on the coast of Africa.

"Who are you, and what do you want?" asks a voice from the inside.

"In the name of civilization open your door, or I'll break it down for you, and fill you full of lead."

"But what do you want here?"

"My name is Christian Civilization. Don't talk like a fool, you black brute; what do you suppose I want here but to civilize you, and make a reasonable human being out of you if it is possible."

"What are you going to do?"

"In the first place you must dress yourself like a white man. Its a shame and a disgrace the way you go about. From now on you must wear underclothing, a pair of pants, vest, coat, plug hat, and a pair of yellow gloves. I will furnish them to you at reasonable rates."

"What shall I do with them?"

"Wear them, of course. You didn't expect to eat them, did you? The first step in civilization is in wearing proper clothes."

"But it is too hot to wear such garments. I'm not used to them. I'll perish from the heat. Do you want to murder me?"

"Well, if you die, you will have the satisfaction of being a martyr to civilization."

"You are very kind."

"Don't mention it. What do you do for a living, anyhow?"

"When I am hungry I eat a banana. I eat, drink, or sleep, just as I feel like it."

"What horrible barbarity! You must settle down to some occupation, my friend. If you don't, I'll have to lock you up as a vagrant."

"If I've got to follow some occupation, I think I'll start a coffee-house. I've a good deal of coffee and sugar on hand."

"Oh, you have, have you? Why, you are not such a hopeless case as I thought you were. In the first place, you want to pay me fifty dollars."

"What for?"

"An occupation tax, you ignorant heathen. Do you expect to get all the blessings of civilization for nothing?"

"But I haven't got any money."

"That makes no difference. I'll take it out in coffee and sugar. If you don't pay I'll put you in gaol."

"What is gaol?"

"Gaol is a progressive word. You must be prepared to make some sacrifice for civilization you know."

"What a great thing Christian civilization is!"

"You cannot possibly realize the benefits, but you will before I get through with you."

The unfortunate native took to the woods, and has not been seen since.—Texas Sittings.

VOTE IN BOSTON.

Boston, Mass., Dec. 13.—The returns of the city election as published in the local papers give for Street Commissioner Henry C. Hess, S. L. P., 1043. Mahoney, Kang, 6249. This shows the S. L. P. vote to be only about 100 less than for the head of the ticket in the State election, while the Kangs show a decrease of over 2000.

'FREEDOM'S CHAMPION'

PRESIDENT BAER'S DELIVERANCE AT THE BANQUET OF THE PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY.

He Throws Himself Upon the Constitution—Runs Up Against Clauses that Don't Suit Him—Becomes an Eccentric Interpreter of the Document—His Class Cheer Him, But Seem to Count Without their Host, the Working Class out in the Cold Outside of the Banquet Hall.

George F. Baer, president of the Philadelphia and Reading Railway, made a capitalist regulation speech on the rights of capital and the rights of labor at the annual dinner of the Pennsylvania Society at the Waldorf-Astoria on the night of the 12th instant, and served notice on men whom he characterized as "tinkering politicians" that it was time they remembered that there is a United States Constitution and a United States Supreme Court, which will see to it that they do not override that Constitution.

Baer was next to the last speaker on the programme of the dinner. His toast was "Pennsylvania Theories of Government." Although many of the diners had gone home when he began to speak, the collection of labor fleecers who remained were so moved by his remarks that they rose and fairly shouted their approval.

When he would have stopped, they begged him to go on; but Baer did not go on beyond the conclusion he had set for himself. Baer was surrounded by his fellow members of the society and after cheers and handclapping was heartily congratulated for the "fearless stand" he had taken.

Baer's speech was as follows:

"After all the laudation I have heard to-night of the State of Pennsylvania I am moved to wonder why so many of you Pennsylvanians have come to New York to live. I have often heard it said that Pennsylvania is a good place to make your money in and New York a good place to spend it, which may account for so many of you being residents of this city.

Many years ago there was in the State of New York a trust. It was an Indian trust, and its title, literally translated, meant 'superior men.' That trust was the first trust in America. Historically it was known as the Six Nations, and although the Indians making it up all lived in New York, they had mighty little regard for the neighboring Indians of the State of Pennsylvania.

After William Penn bought the lands of Pennsylvania from the Indians, paying them a good round price for them, the trust came over to Pennsylvania from New York and said that the Delawareans had no right to that land that anybody. 'Why,' they said, 'years ago we made women of the Delawareans.'

You see the idea of this trust was that the most contemptible thing they could do to any enemy was to make a woman of him. This is far from being an expression of my own opinion in such a matter.

Nevertheless, the result of this interference from the Indian trust was that a new treaty was made, this time with the Indians of New York. But in the end, when the war of the Revolution came along, the trust Indians made the mistake of going on the wrong side, and that was the last of their power.

"It is an important thing when you organize a trust to be in accord with the right party. Maybe it is because of the old claims of the Six Nations that the people of Pennsylvania are so willing to come to New York to spend their surplus money as a kind of tribute.

"I am reminded of this by the events of a month ago, and I am wondering yet on what particular theory it was that the State of New York proposed to come over and confiscate Pennsylvania lands. Was it on the old theory that the Indian trust of New York based its claims to Pennsylvania land?

"Maybe the reason so many of you Pennsylvanians come to New York is that you are here on a pilgrimage to that Indian, the patron saint of New York, St. Tammany.

"In times of civic dyspepsia there's some talk of deaconizing that saint, but I notice that in the end St. Tammany still holds his sway."

Baer said that he had before him a copy of the first Constitution of the State of Pennsylvania, adopted in 1776, and he read from the preamble the lines referring to the right of the citizen to acquire property and his right to have that property protected. The limitations to this Constitution, he said, could be determined only by law, and not by any self-created code. Continuing, Mr. Baer said:

"The law allows the workman of today to be the captain of industry of tomorrow (cheers), and it is this that has developed the natural power of Pennsylvania and made her the first industrial State, not only of the United States, but of the entire world.

"I quote again from the Constitution that people of the State have the sole right to regulate the internal policy of that State. And whether we know it or not there is grave danger of that grand old idea of local autonomy being gradually taken from us.

"The local autonomy of States is a fundamental part of American Constitutional liberty and it was on that principle that Pennsylvania started her career of Statehood. Through the War of the Secession we were not unwilling to

surrender it, and we are not willing to surrender it now. We will surrender the Government of the State of Pennsylvania to no one. (Cheers.)

"The experiments of those who would have us do otherwise are in vain, for there are Constitutional limitations. If the masses will not respect these limitations there is a tribunal, the greatest the world ever saw, the Supreme Court of the United States, which will see to it that tinkering politicians do not override that Constitution.

"And when the period of momentary excitement has passed away there will be no danger of an amendment of the Constitution by men who do not understand the fundamental theories of free government.

"Maybe you will ask me why I have spoken as I have to-night. I answer you that I do it because when Constitutional limitations are set aside and overlooked it is well to have frequent recurrence to the early principles of that Constitution, so that we may go on preserving the blessings of liberty and keep our Government free."

Baer told the story of Martin Coster, an Austrian subject, who had declared his intention of becoming an American citizen, and was then kidnapped and taken aboard an Austrian ship. He was rescued by Commander Ingraham on the United States ship St. Louis, who took his part simply on the strength of his declaration that he was going to become an American citizen. Then Baer said:

"But to-day we have the spectacle of citizens born right in this country not being protected in their right to work, the very smallest of the natural rights for the protection of which the Government was founded.

"The whole power of our Government must be brought to protect the man who wants to work, and to strike down any and every hand that would oppress him. This is still the great republic, and I will never despair or believe that it will be anything else."

The scene which followed when Baer sat down is beyond description. Men shouted and waved their napkins in the air, and a dozen jumped on chairs in their enthusiasm. There were shouts for more along the same line, from Baer, but he shook his head and declined to speak further.

WHAT IS A UNION MAN?

The Man With a Union Card in Every Pocket and the Man With Class-Consciousness.

Special to The Daily People.

Nowadays we have a great deal of talk about who is a union man and who is not a union man. It is a common thing to hear pure and simple trade unionists, with the marks of brutalizing toil all over them, boast of having been union men for a number of years. In their opinion a piece of pasteboard card with something printed on it makes the possessor a union man. A card is no guarantee of unionism. A man may have had a card for twenty years and still not be a union man. The possession of a knowledge of economics and the actions which that knowledge dictates and not the possession of a piece of pasteboard makes a man a union man.

To hear these pure and simpliers talk about "the union" one would imagine it was something sort of trade union god, who wears the union label in his hat and drinks only union label whisky; who never had a beginning and never will have an end and who at one time manufactured and handed down a law "that there must be no politics in the union"—not even if the lives of the members and their families demand the introduction of politics into the union.

A trade union is any number of workmen organized in a body, as a part of the working class, for the purpose of bettering their conditions and achieving their emancipation from wage slavery, and the only thing necessary to its usefulness is Reason; that is, a knowledge of the causes that forced its members to pool their interests and act unitedly. Its power to help its members is limited only by the knowledge they have of how and by whom the wealth of the nation is produced and distributed.

Before a man can call himself a union man he must know these few simple truths: 1. That every country is made up of people divided into three economic classes with three distinct and separate interests.

2. That there is a constant war going on between these classes, each seeking to get the largest share of the wealth the working class alone produces.

3. That he belongs to one of these classes.

In the United States the Republican party represents the labor skinner of the large capitalist class.

The Democratic party represents the labor skinner of the small capitalist class.

The Socialist Labor Party represents the working class that is skinned by these two branches of the capitalist class.

Socialism is the labor movement and the workingman who wishes to be of any benefit to himself or his class must learn what it means. Because unless he understands what the labor movement is he cannot be of any benefit, but must be an injury to it; and a man who is an injury to himself and his class cannot call himself a union man, even if he has a union card in every pocket in his clothes. But the unthinking workingman says, "Socialism is too far away." He was singing that same song twelve years ago, and in all that time he has not got one inch nearer to being a union man. Will he make the same progress in the next twelve?

Unknown.

A FALSE STATEMENT

PHILADELPHIA MINISTER MIS-REPRESENTS SOCIALISM.

Repeats Falsehoods Regarding its Propositions—Deplores its Progress. Declares Morality Will be Renounced. Calls Upon "Men of Might" to Arise and Check It.

In the Philadelphia Ledger of December 9 the following article appears: Rev. Charles W. Nevins, formerly pastor of the South Broad Street Presbyterian Church, Broad below Ritten Street, addressed the Presbyterian Ministers' Union yesterday on "What American Socialism Proposes." It was his opinion that there was danger in the progress of Socialism, and he declared:

"Socialism in the United States, as a scheme, is a plan for a new government, for the rearrangement of all the relations by which man and his fellow man are now associated—industrial, political, social.

"Socialism in the United States as a power is a force, already mighty, that is yearly growing greater, and is sweeping on with the sole object of mastering every other force, national, industrial and social, and remoulding it to its will. It knows no compromise.

"It is being explained and advocated in our midst with untiring zeal, and is winning adherents in startling numbers. Sometimes its advocates are intelligent and honest; sometimes they are demagogues and dishonest. Sometimes its principles are being urged through a daily press, by popular fiction and from sacred desks that do not realize that they are teaching Socialism.

"It is reaching every class of society, and is being received by many as a new development in sociology, which bids fair to banish all national ill. It has entered the lists among political parties, and already has become a factor which each party carefully considers before flinging out the banner of its principles.

"It has found its way into trade unions over the land, and is battling so fiercely for mastery there that it has already won control in some, and has shown strength in nearly all.

"It proposes to accomplish political, moral, industrial and religious revolutions, a project not impossible because it is big.

"It aims to abolish capitalism or private fortunes, and competition and establish collectivism or collective rule. It proposes to level down those who are financially above their fellows, whether they are laborers who have money in the savings banks, merchants, or capitalists and shuts its eyes to the impossibility of permanently maintaining an equal distribution of wealth.

"It proposes to establish an equality of condition among men; that is, it is going to hold back those who have abilities to rise and keep carrying forward, shoulder to shoulder, with those who have little or no such abilities, or do not use what they have as earnestly as other people.

"It proposes to transfer every one's wealth, property and trade from his own hands to the State to own, or to the officials who will represent the State as Socialism proposes to reorganize it.

"It proposes to transform society as a whole into a mighty association and make the chief end of man in this association the production of wealth for the State. Man is to be estimated according to his behavior to society, without regard to his behavior to himself, to other individual men and women, or to God.

"Morality, as now universally understood, is to be renounced and religion ignored. Society is to take the place of God.

"No reforms will satisfy Socialism. This nationality that has outstripped all competitors, that has achieved such success in 126 years as no other nationality has ever achieved in any time, that to-day is feared in war, dreaded in competition, courted in companionship the world over, is to be pulled down altogether, revolutionized. And this by the hand of a class, the followers of a social theory, who have never yet given to the world any evidence of ability to successfully govern state or self.

"Wherever it trenches itself, Socialism proposes to teach that all capitalists, good and bad, are the enemies and oppressors of the working classes, and to engender as deep a hostility as possible between labor and capital. It proposes to banish patriotism.

"Socialism has been long enough in this country to indicate to some extent the character of the results it would produce should it prevail. Its fruits are not attractive or promising. Socialists of the land, for instance, are not the happiest people in the country; on the contrary, they are most frequently sober, discontented, morbidly sensitive, lax in personal morals and prone to end their unsatisfied careers on earth by suicide. They are not the most prosperous people. They are not the most intelligent people; school, business, science, art, industry do not thrive best where they are. They are not the most moral people. They are not physically the most robust class, nor mentally the most successful class.

"In its train are the dissatisfied, the embittered, the failures in life; along its course are the approving throngs of anarchy and for its goal is the fallen home, destroyed freedom, prostrate morality, a de-throned God.

"Men of might, of sanity, of patriotism, of Godliness must arise to check the onset, to rescue the misled, to maintain our virtues, to defend the land."

Reports come from Haverhill to the effect that the Shoemakers' Protective Union of that city is working in the direction of making an effort to have Haverhill become the eastern headquarters of the new American Labor Union.

AMERICAN CLASSES.

There Are Two of Them, One the Seller, the Other the Buyer of Labor.

The Holyoke Transcript, of a recent date, contained the following letter: "A Tribute to Socialism."

"Editor Transcript.—Barely twenty years have passed since no less a personage than the Hon. Carl Schurz made the statement that—there are no classes in America; all are free and equal. And this very day the public press prints without comment the statement 'that previous to the organization of the United Mine Workers that it was considered bad form to kill and maim a citizen who attempted to exercise the right to sell his labor, guaranteed him under the constitution of the United States.'

"A citizen of the United States 'selling his labor' is equivalent to admitting that there are two classes in America; one who sells labor and one who buys said labor. This admission reveals another important fact. To wit: he who sells his labor sells himself, as human labor is not possible without the body of the seller. Labor and the laborer are one and must necessarily go together. This fact admitted, another hangs inseparable upon its heels—labor and the laborer are merchandise subject to the law of merchandise, the price of which is regulated by supply and demand. Here then we have the whole theory and doctrine of Socialism revealed and substantiated as a living fact. The majority of the American people being of the laboring class are then admitted to be nothing less than common merchandise. To add insult to injury the perpetrators of the above horrible admission go on to state that the constitution of the United States sanctions and protects such white slavery—wage labor slavery. For shame.

"The constitution of the United States does nothing of the kind; it reads: 'We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America.'

"The spirit of the constitution in every line breathes as its object the securing of the blessings of liberty to every citizen. But how is liberty possible for all these who must sell themselves to some other citizens in order to live at all?

"Liberty in its purest sense is only possible for him who is economically free; who is not obliged to sell his labor—himself—for a crust of bread. When the constitution was promulgated liberty was possible to most people because the instruments of labor were so simple as to be obtained by nearly all. To sell one's labor was an unknown term because no one was obliged to do it in order to live. But things have changed, the instruments of labor to-day are far beyond the control of the individual. Our methods of production have changed from individual to social production and because of this change the instruments of labor must also change from individual ownership to social ownership.

"To retain the blessings of liberty and shall not be sacrificed under the horrible yoke of labor selling slavery. The Socialist Labor Party has been organized to lead the way to the consummation of this great movement. There is nothing to hinder it. Every new phase of the ever-changing panorama of our social industrial development proves the sound logic and moral science of Socialism; which attempts to carry to successful consummation the great principles of the constitution, which proclaims that—all men are born free and equal and shall have an opportunity to enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. This applies not only to the coal barons but to the miners especially. Society can get along very well without the bears, but not without the miners or all other producers of wealth. We want the co-operative commonwealth. We must have it and can not do without it. Capitalism has had its day, it has shown the world what can be done by collective production. Now let the collective ownership take its place and we shall see what we shall see.

M. Ruther."

POOR SUFFERING.

Lawrence Feels Coal Famine—Clerks Enforce Blue Laws.

Special to The Daily People.

Lawrence, Mass., Dec. 13.—The wave of capitalist "prosperity" which is bringing so much misery to the working class of other cities is also having its effect upon the toilers of this city. As a result of the cold wave and the scarcity of fuel, much suffering amongst the poor is being brought to light.

A particularly hard case was that of a young woman named Hickey, living on Chestnut street, who had just given birth to a child and was discovered by a patrolman, lying on a cot on the floor with not a bit of fire in the house. Scores of families have no fuel and no means of getting any except what is doled out to them in the form of "charity."

Reports come from Haverhill to the effect that the Shoemakers' Protective Union of that city is working in the direction of making an effort to have Haverhill become the eastern headquarters of the new American Labor Union.

DAILY PEOPLE BALL

TAKES PLACE THIS EVENING AT GRAND CENTRAL PALACE.

Twenty Valuable Prizes for Most Original Costumes—Two Gold Watches. "Vorwaerts Skandal"—Other Unique Features.

All readers of the Daily People, members, friends and sympathizers of the Socialist Labor Party, in short, all who are interested in the building up of the Party Press and the distribution of Party literature, should not fail to keep in mind the fact that on next Saturday evening, December 20, a Grand Masque and Civic Ball will be held at Grand Central Palace, under the auspices of Section New York, S. L. P.

As has been before stated in these columns, the proceeds of this affair will go to the Daily People Fund and to the fund for the distribution of Jewish literature.

The comrades having the matter in hand are determined to make this year's ball the most successful yet held. To this end they urgently request all comrades and friends to push the sale of tickets with all possible vigor during this week.

The committee has selected twenty valuable prizes to be awarded to the twenty masqueraders making the best appearance.

The first prize consists of a gent's and a lady's 14-karat gold watch. All the other prizes are quite valuable enough to warrant competitors making an extraordinary effort to capture them.

The more competition the merrier the event and everybody should try hard to be a winner.

An interesting and amusing feature will be the presentation of the "Vorwaerts Skandal" by members of the Excelsior Literary Society. This in itself will be worth going to see, and when considered in conjunction with the various other presentations and impersonations that have been planned for the occasion, the Fair which is to be held in connection with it, for which many valuable and attractive presents are being received, and the lively dancing programme which will be rendered by Musical Alliance, L. A. 1028, S. T. & L. A., it will at once be seen that the event of next Saturday will outshine all previous efforts in that direction. The committee in charge is doing all it can to make it so, and now, comrades and friends, it is up to you to do the rest. Push the sale of tickets which cost but 25 cents.

Devising an original costume and prepare to compete for the masqueraders' prizes, and urge your friends and acquaintances to do likewise. Make up your minds that you are going to wholly get for one night at least the strife and turmoil incident to the struggle for existence in shop and factory under the lash of the capitalist exploiter; that you are going to go to the Grand Central Palace next Saturday and spend a thoroughly enjoyable evening in the company of the merry throng of kindred spirits all fully bent upon enjoying themselves, and all interested in the same grand cause. An evening rendered all the more enjoyable because of the knowledge that it will have the result of giving needed pecuniary assistance towards the noble object for which the class-conscious members of the working class are so earnestly striving, namely, the building of the Socialist Daily Press and the distribution of clear-cut Socialist literature, with the resultant strengthening of the workingclass movement and its political manifestation, the Socialist Labor Party.

Those who desire more tickets or who have not yet secured any should obtain them at once from L. Abelson, 2-6 New Reade street.

At the last meeting of the committee sub-committees were elected to look after the various features, distribute tickets, circulars, etc. Another meeting will be held on Wednesday evening at the rooms of the Excelsior Literary Society, 235 East Broadway, for the purpose of making final arrangements with regard to matters of detail.

Committee on Arrangements.

CHILD LABOR BILL.

One in Virginia Legislature—Exemptions Proposed Which Will Render It Null.

Special to The Daily People.

Richmond, Va., Dec. 13.—The house committee on general laws has favorably reported the Cabell child labor bill. Senator Lyle has offered a similar measure in the upper branch, and it is now in the senate with a favorable report, but will likely be recommitted on motion of Senator Shands, who desires to be heard in opposition. Both bills prohibit labor of children who are under twelve years of age, in manufacturing plants, but also at the same time provides for accidental exemptions as to children of widows, and in favor of certain industries. If the exemptions of both bills are adopted, a miserable abortion will be the outcome of this much counted legislation in favor of labor.

A child labor bill has been introduced in nearly every

Labor Troubles in Canada

In the Canadian Manufacturer and Industrial World, a periodical published in the interest of manufacturers in Canada, for November 7 there appears an article headed, "A Disease and a Remedy." The article is invaluable as an exposition of the views and aims of Canadian manufacturers in relation to labor organizations in the Dominion. The unreserved expression of opinion which characterizes this article leaves no doubt as to the manufacturers' views at present or their intentions in the future. Consequently, as a text for the monthly contribution to the People from this Dominion, it is too great a temptation to pass by without notice, so we shall at once enter upon the consideration of this unique expression of the capitalist mind on the great question of labor troubles and how to find a remedy for them. But before doing so, it might be well to emphasize the importance of the publication in which this article appears. It is the mouthpiece of Canadian manufacturers, and reaches all the blast furnaces, iron and steel works, rolling mills, manufacturers of iron and woodworking machinery, steam engines and boilers, pumping and mining machinery and appliances, machinery dealers and steam fitters' supplies, all hardware dealers, cotton, woolen, knitting and yarn mills, pulp and paper mills, etc., in Canada, thus forming a great connecting link between the different manufacturing and distributing concerns in the Dominion.

In the opening sentence, which runs as follows, "the serious labor troubles which have during late years affected the business interests of Canada and the United States and, in fact, the whole business world, have brought forth many plans looking to the removal of this potent evil and bar to industrial progress," we find labor troubles designated as a potent evil and bar to industrial progress. Doubtless, from a capitalist standpoint, industrial progress is considerably retarded by these conditions, so, in order to have conditions conducive to industrial progress along capitalist lines, labor troubles must cease to bar the way, and this potent evil will then be removed.

This is the purpose of the article, and the object which the writer has in view. Industrial progress, according to his view, does not mean the upward progress of those who actively toil in industry, but rather progress along the downward path, toward the goal of dependent slavery. Should this be the fate of the active industrial classes is the inquiry which fills the minds of sane and thoughtful men to-day. The sophistry of the capitalists fails to satisfy this inquiry or direct its ever increasing earnestness. This question of the right of the toiler to the product of his labor belongs to that class of disputes which cannot be settled until it is settled right, and if the manufacturers of Canada think it possible to settle this matter in their favor, by legal enactment, as we shall later explain, they must be more enlightened than they usually appear to be.

In the Manufacturer's article it is complained that smaller concerns are passed by, and labor organizations concentrate their efforts upon the large employers, where, through the united action of their members, they have a much better opportunity to embarrass the manufacturing interests. This is very misleading. Those who are intimate with the tactics of pure and simple labor organizations know how much deference is shown toward large concerns employing great numbers of men, in comparison

with smaller employers.

In the case of the former, hasty action is unthought of, which can be proved by serious differences existing unsettled for years. Committees are often, for many weeks, maintained at the expense of the organization, endeavoring to settle such matters, and even in the case of failure an open conflict seldom takes place. Where is such consideration accorded to the small employer?

This whine of the bigger capitalist bully is very amusing in the light of overwhelming evidence to the contrary. Where do we find commissions formed for the purpose of settling differences between small employers and their employees, or militia called out to safeguard their interests? Whereas, many a time and oft the legislative and military machinery of the country has been put into active operation at the behest and in the interest of large capitalists or rich corporations.

The action of pure and simple labor organizations, instead of being opposed to larger capitalists, are of valuable assistance to them in this regard. They attack and blot out of the field of capitalism the smaller employers who cannot call in the powers of the State to protect them, and so fill the bigger bully with joy. To this course he consents and raises no protest in behalf of his weaker brother.

Following this specious argument in behalf of larger capitalism, the complaint is made that in the past, labor troubles have cost millions of dollars in damage, and that labor organizations were the inspiration for such conduct; that although know those troubles are less bloody, the principles of labor organizations are none the less anarchistic, because they dictate to an employer how he shall conduct his business so far as labor is concerned, and that in the face of such labor organizations not having a cent at stake.

Then comes the choicest gem of the whole article, in the form of an open confession by one who knows. It runs as follows. Speaking of such actions on the part of pure and simple labor organizations, the writer of the article says: "In most instances they impair rather than improve the conditions of the laboring class, for an employer cannot be greatly blamed for retrenchment to cover losses sustained by labor troubles, and in the end it is the employee who usually foots the bill."

In the absence of politics in the union, a discussion of "who usually foots the bill" must be invaluable as an educator to the rank and file of the pure and simple. Surely, in the face of this confession from the spokesman of capital, the misleaders of labor will hardly renege the fact. Do the capitalists not know whether they have been repaid by the workers for all losses caused by labor troubles? It is plain from this statement that they invariably are repaid, and from the published increase of their capital it would appear that they are repaid in a very ample measure.

But the complaint of the capitalist is not that he sustains losses through labor troubles, for which no redress can be had, but that in any measure he should be disturbed by the opposing interests of labor. The capitalist, entrenched for years in his privileged position, considers the demands of labor anarchistic, and proceeds to deal with them from that point of view, and the deplorable fact in this connection is that the capitalist is sustained by the leaders of pure and simple unionism in his contention. The fact never seems to dawn upon

on those benighted misleaders of labor that the root of present anarchy lies in this admission of the claim of the capitalist to the ownership of the product of labor. The conscience that permits and justifies this robbery is seared indeed, and is a very dangerous guide to public morals.

But the dawning of a clearer understanding and a higher ideal than this submissive acquiescence to the enslaving devices of capitalism is now at hand. The immediate future of capitalism and trade unionism will have to reckon with this awakening consciousness in matters legislative and economic. The delusion of Australian schemes of compulsory arbitration, or American profit-sharing, so favorably viewed in this capitalist article, will miserably fail to divert the rising tide of righteous opinion on those questions.

Likewise would the legal position of trade unions, as demanded in this article, however well defined, be valueless in settling this trouble. Capitalists and trade unionists who to-day seek to appear as the only parties involved in the settlement of this controversy, and who by their clamorous contentions would make all believe that by them alone this question can and must be solved and settled, are only objects of amusement to students of economic science.

The capitalist of to-day is but the product of the system now in operation, and is not, as the capitalist writer would have us believe, a self-created and eternally ordained deity, to preside over and direct the destiny of labor. Neither are the pure and simple trade unions the only champions and advocates of the rights of labor, much as they may desire to be. Both these are but manifestations of present conditions, and only prove that the great question awaiting solution is lying outside the province of their mean and narrow judgment.

The writer of the article, "A Disease and a Remedy," after devoting his best thought and attention to the matter, concludes that if labor organizations were incorporated and thus placed on an equal footing with the manufacturing interests, with respect to responsibility for their action, the matter of further serious trouble would be solved. Thus being made amenable to the courts for their acts, their funds could be made liable for damages and so attain the privilege of equality in the eyes of the law. In other words, according to a certain story, they would possess all the advantages of the individual who went to law with the devil, with the proceedings taking place in hell.

What a lovely vision of the legal adjustment of all difficulties on the basis of perfect equity! Doubtless, under this regime, a millennium of prosperity and peace is in store for distracted and overburdened humanity. Overjoying, indeed, is the thought that this profound student has solved the solution of this ever present and troublesome question. All remaining now to be done is to join the pure and simple trade union, obtain incorporation under capitalist law, leaving the rights of the people and the making and enforcing of laws, as at present, in the hands of capitalism, with the understanding that an efficient force of militia, composed of loyal trade unionists, be at all times maintained, so that should any trouble arise, they could turn out promptly and shoot down a sufficient number of their fellow unionists in order to teach them the necessity of maintaining law and order. Under those conditions the bar to industrial progress would be removed.

The article concludes with the information that "already employers in the United States have organizations for their mutual protection against strikes and labor troubles, and lately such an organization has been formed in Toronto. Undoubtedly the best results toward the solution of those troublesome questions could be obtained, through a uniform effort of the manufacturers to obtain the enactment of laws defining the position of organized labor and compelling the incorporation of all such societies." So now we arrive at the ultimate of the matter, and know what is to be expected from the concentrated powers of capital in Canada.

The sacred injunction, "Keep politics out of the union!" observed by pure and simple organizations, cannot hold good for any great length of time, as the capitalist employers of the Dominion will shortly make them feel the strong grasp of capitalist law. Then they must realize that no power can free them but the exercise of their own political power, wielded through the ballot box. Then the folly of all their present and former attitude along these lines will meet them at every point, spreading dismay in their ranks.

Their condition will much resemble those who are described as blind leaders of the blind who shall both fall into the ditch. Their present leaders, as well as those who have gone before, are looking for preferment at the hands of the capitalist powers that be, and their efforts in this regard are not all in vain, for not a few have already been chosen to enjoy the sweets of office. It matters not to them how strong they help to forge the chains that bind their brethren in the bondage of capitalist slavery, so long as they secure the desired berth.

Having thus surveyed the field of future action in the light of present conditions in this Dominion, let us proceed to deduce therefrom lessons which may prove of value to the Socialist Labor Party.

All movements having the elements of permanency must possess certain life-giving characteristics, or decay and death must inevitably follow. The chief features of capitalism are not of the life-giving order, which can readily be comprehended by most people. To begin with, there stands prominently in capitalism a distinguishing feature which is the very antithesis of the first principles laid down in the platform of the Socialist Labor Party, namely, "the right of all men to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

In proof of this contention let us appeal to no less an authority than the message of President Roosevelt to the House of Congress at the beginning of the second session of the Fifty-seventh Congress just assembled, in which we find this expression: "A fundamental base of civilization is the inviolability of property." Here we have the basic principles of both movements—the Socialist movement and the capitalist movement.

The former lays down as the basis of all proper government the inalienable right of all to life, etc., and the duty of the government to conserve that right to the citizen, while, on the other hand, capitalism holds sacred and lays down as the basis of what they choose to call civilization, the "inviolability of property," and capitalist governments who hold this doctrine as the correct basis upon which to build arrogate to themselves the wisdom of being the only interpreters of the correct theory of government. Further, that they, the civilized governments of today, are capital-

HOW CAPITALISTS VIEW THE DIS-EASE AND THE REMEDY THEY PRESCRIBE.

ist governments, and are built upon the theory of conserving to citizens the inviolability of private property. Of this there is no doubt.

So, on the theory that underlies true government, there is a wide divergence of opinion between the Socialist and the capitalist. The former holds the conservation of life sacred, while the latter holds private property sacred. The one purpose to build a State, strong and free and happy, based on life-producing, life-sustaining principles. The other has built more than once on the "fundamental base" accepted by President Roosevelt, and it takes to-day some deep excavating to find the trace of where such civilization existed. But still the infatuation remains, and the greatest republic on earth to-day is satisfied to elect to the highest office in the gift of its citizens a man who holds this sacred theory, which the records of the human race condemn as false and foolish, but yet dear to the heart of mammon.

Yet the words of President Roosevelt are not applicable to the United States alone, but to the Dominion of Canada as well. The exponent of capitalism in reciting his fundamental doctrines, speaks not to his own people only, but to all capitalist countries holding similar beliefs.

But to view the subject a little more closely, let us inquire how comes it that those high priests of capitalism proclaim so loudly and arrogantly this creed of mammon in the ears of the people. Are all those capitalist fundamentals of government accepted as sound doctrine by the masses? We hold not. Else why this whine from the Canadian Manufacturer, imploring to be permitted the liberty of forging the chain a little stronger and drawing it a little tighter around the awakening giant of labor? Such action betrays fear lest he hears the warning voice of the Socialist Labor Party and he become conscious and cast aside his bonds of slavery and live a free man. Why this sophistry of President Roosevelt, in the matter of capital and labor, in his late message, talking of "each being brought into harmony with the interest of the general public and the conduct of each be brought to conform to the fundamental rules of obedience to the law of individual freedom, and of justice and fair dealing toward all?" as though fair dealing and freedom could exist in the same sphere with the freedom of capital! As well expect "the wolf should dwell with the lamb, or the leopard lie down with the kid," as expect that capitalists cease preying upon the lives and liberties of the workers!

Having observed the attitude of organized labor on this great question facing the industrial world to-day, we shall conclude with a word regarding the Socialist Labor Party.

It is recorded of the goddess Vesta, who was the guardian angel of mankind and presided over true and faithful dealing and also kept burning within each human breast the vital flame which was the emblem of her sacred fire, that she remained always a virgin. Hitherto such has been the characteristics of the Socialist Labor Party in this Dominion. The torch of political and economic truth has been upheld with steady hand to lead the workers on the path of safety. The inspiration of a high ideal infuses the movement with an ever increasing vitality, and unholy alliances with the powers of capital, however exalted, are strictly avoided.

D. ROSS.

London, Ontario.

TO AN EDITOR ON A MATTER OF SERIOUS IMPORTANCE—"CAUSE OF SOCIALISM."

The Socialist Revolution. As you are doubtless aware, the Democratic party has, for the past forty years, acted as a stool-pigeon party to break up all side movements by adopting some of the planks in the platforms of those side movements. Into the maw of the Democratic party has gone unaltered, I'll admit, the greenback movement, the Populist movement and others too numerous to mention; but when the Socialist Labor Party appeared on the scene, with its straight, clear and incorruptible revolutionary programme, it was found impossible by the capitalist politicians to swerve it in the slightest degree from the course laid out by itself, no matter how alluring the baits of "something now" held out by the stool-pigeon Democratic party in the form of "Socialist planks" in their platform.

This being the situation and the case looking desperate, as the Socialist Labor Party was gradually grasping the political power in New York, the Social Democratic party was organized in 1897, with the cries of "broader tactics" and "something now" as its slogan, and Eugene V. Debs as its figurehead. To fit which latter for his role as a destroyer of Socialist lightning, he served an apprenticeship in Woodstock jail, where he read Kidd's "Social Evolution" and "Merrie England." Certainly a dandy education for the "head" of a Socialist movement; the fruits of which was seen when Debs, acting on the altruistic theories imbibed from Kidd, begged John D. Rockefeller for financial assistance in overthrowing the system of industry whereby the said John D. waxes fat.

This party, thus formed, having nearly as many names as there are States in which it is organized, it is called the Socialist party in Ohio, and considering number of votes, however ignorant the voters, as the ultima thule of its existence, broadens and narrows its principles and tactics in the manner that seems to it best suited to accomplish that end without any consideration whatever as to whether or not their antics are calculated to further the cause of Socialism.

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they will fuse with any capitalist party in the country, as they have heretofore done repeatedly, and as we have proved time and again by incontrovertible documentary evidence. The Democratic party has nothing to fear from a party with which it can fuse. This is the character of the party that polled the great bulk of that 400,000 "Socialist" votes that has apparently caused you so much consternation.

The straight, clear vote of the men who mean revolution amounted to probably barely 40,000; but, look you, that is the vote of 40,000 men who know exactly what they want and who are going to get it. Yours very truly,

J. R. Fraser.

Paris, Ky., November 30, 1902.

(Editorial mentioned in the above communication.)

CAUSE OF SOCIALISM.

It is declared by competent authority that there has been an alarming growth of Socialism in this country in the last decade and this is emphasized by the fact that at the last election 40,000 men in learned and cultured Massachusetts, and 400,000 men in this country stood at the polls and gave their voice and vote for Socialism, clear and straightforward Socialism with all that the term implies. Many causes are assigned for the growth of this noxious element in our country and while there are many of these recognized contributory causes, the defects in our economic system, which we seem unable to repair, are the prime causes for its recent phenomenal growth. Our defective immigration laws by which every ship from abroad brings to our shores the illiterate and downtrodden of every clime have sown the seeds of discontent, have promoted ideas at variance with our institutions; and our naturalization laws, our suffrage franchise, not being based on the fitness of the individual to exercise the great privilege of citizenship, conditions are becoming such that the in-

telligent heart of the nation no longer beats, the best citizenship is no longer effective at the polls; the voice of patriotism is strangled and the whole election scene is a contest of greed,—desire for office, desire for power, desire for legislation that favors great combinations, at the expense of the great body of the people. These conditions have grown until they are becoming serious, and we see the great trust defying public opinion, insulting even the president and holding the national congress in their own hands. We see them threatening the people with a meat famine to-day, a coal famine to-morrow, and though the general government interposes it can but ask for a compromise, a resort to arbitration, and when congress meets nothing is done that would remedy the evil. Certainly some legislation is necessary to prevent the experiences of the last year in our economic conditions, but nothing will be done by the existing or coming congress. This concentration of dangerous power as shown in the threatened famines in the midst of plenty that we experienced this year are the influences that are driving people to dreaded Socialism and breeding anarchy. When conditions prevail such as exist in the coal mining fields and other natural resources upon which the people depend, and which in the hands of greed threaten calamity to the nation, provisions should be made in due time to break such monopoly instead of encouraging avaricious control of the very arteries upon which the people must rely for their very existence. If these facts are referred to by political economists and statesmen the paid emissary of monopoly or their beneficiaries immediately raise the cry of "an alarmist" and endeavor by ridicule and billingsgate to drown the voice of reason. These are the causes that have contributed to the wonderful advance of Socialism in this country in the last few years, and while danger from that source is still remote, it is a danger which should be anticipated and steps taken to prevent its development.

A Frank Letter

Mr. J. M. Cox, Dayton, O.

Dear Sir: I take the liberty of addressing you personally, rather than in your editorial capacity, on a matter of the most serious importance to you and to the people you profess to represent in that editorial capacity. I am going to be perfectly frank with you and put what I have to say in just as plain and forcible English as I am capable of; and I trust that you will take and consider it in the same spirit. I will carry my frankness even so far as to say that what I am writing is, primarily, not for your perusal; but for publication in the official organs of the revolution and for preservation for future use, together with your editorial in the News of the 25th inst. on the "Cause of Socialism," in the archives of that revolution.

You may sneer at and denounce the revolution if you choose; so have the enemies of every revolution recorded in history; so did the Tories in the American Revolution; so did the Copperheads in that revolution known as the abolition of the chattle form of slavery; so do the enemies of the Socialist Revolution—the revolution that shall at last make the human race industrially free. Though by what title these (later day enemies of human progress) will be handed down to the execration, hatred and contempt of posterity is not yet determined.

You may think this strong language to use toward yourself; but do not the facts warrant it? Let us see! Socialism, as I have taken special pains to inform you, means the industrial freedom of the human race; means the absolute right of every member of that race to work with the best possible machinery and under the best possible conditions and to own the whole of the product of his labor; and that this condition is necessarily predicated upon the collective ownership by the whole people of the whole of the industrial plant of the nation and of the world. Further, I have taken pains to inform you, that the Socialist Labor Party is a political party of class-conscious workmen, aware of their rights and determined to conquer them in the manner prescribed in the organic law of the United States; and that this party is

carrying on a continuous campaign of education among the working class and will continue that campaign until that class, through that party, takes possession of the United States government and uses that government to accomplish the revolution.

Now, in view of these facts, of which you have been aware for at least a year, your coupling, as you do in the above mentioned editorial, of the name of Socialists with that of Anarchists, looks like a deliberate attempt on your part to invite the ignorant and vicious, of whom, unfortunately, we have too many among us, to riot and bloodshed against the intelligent and honest of us who are striving for the freedom of the race from a slavery that has become too galling to be longer borne.

You admit, flat-footedly, that there are defects in our economic system which you seem unable to repair; but, like any ordinary capitalist newspaper writer, you fail to point out what those defects are or any possible remedy for them. Allow me to quote from the United States Census Reports and supply some of your omissions: The capitalist class has, by its manipulation of the laws which you admit, obtained possession of the land furnished by nature for the use of the whole of humanity and the machinery created by the genius and labor of the working class; and it uses that land and machinery, as a highwayman uses his pistol, as a weapon whereby to deprive the working class of the product of its labor except a very small proportion of that product which is returned to that class as wages; and the amount so returned is regulated by the law of supply and demand. In other words, by the necessities of the man out of employment.

Permit me to tell you a little story, that is a matter of history and easily verified, to illustrate one of your contentions. You say "Our defective immigration laws by which every ship brings from abroad to our shores the illiterate and downtrodden of every clime have sown the seeds of discontent," is one of the causes assigned for the growth of this noxious element in our country. When Signor Crispi was prime minister of Italy, there were

elects to the Italian parliament nine Socialists, whom, in order to get rid of, Signor Crispi had enacted educational qualification laws which disfranchised the illiterate of Italy and then dissolved parliament and caused a new election; with the result that fifteen Socialists were returned on practically the same vote that had before elected only nine. It is the educated and intelligent of the working class who vote for Socialism. Those who cannot or do not read, and read intelligently along the lines of their class interests, never hear of Socialism as the proper remedy for the hellish conditions of industrial slavery under which they are existing. The ignorant, illiterate and vicious vote the tickets of their masters, the Republican and Democratic tickets. Czolgoz, the murderer of President McKinley, is said by the New York World to have voted the Republican ticket in 1896; and yet you tried deliberately, in a signed editorial, to fasten that crime upon the Socialists; and when we challenged you to debate the question in any public manner feasible, you slunk into your hole and refused to attempt to prove your slanders. Karl Marx, the political economist who reduced Socialism to a science and fully exposed capitalism in all its hellishness, wrote in 1847 that before the capitalist system of industry had run its course, the working class would be obliged to fight for the possession of the land and machinery or starve; and that Marx's prediction is being fulfilled, you yourself plainly admit, in the editorial under discussion; and yet you refer to the only people on earth, who can by any possibility remedy these conditions, as a noxious element.

Understand me, there is no possibility of the capitalist class doing anything but develop the capitalist system of industry whereby the workers, the producers of all wealth, are robbed of an ever greater percentage of the product of their labor. A glance at history will demonstrate this. Three hundred years ago the working class had to have 85 per cent. of the product of its labor in order to live at all; and so the master class could get but 15 per cent. of that product. To-day, the labor of the working class has, by reason of

labor saving machinery and devices created by itself, become so wonderfully productive that it can exist on 18 per cent. of that product; and so the master class takes 82 per cent. of that product of the labor and genius of the working class for which it renders to the working class no sort of return whatever, except the militiaman's bullet and policeman's club when they object. Further, the master class is now enabled to keep the working class closer to the line of bare existence than it would three hundred years ago by reason of the competition of the workers, forced out of employment by labor-saving machinery, for the jobs that are left. More than this, the intensity of competition for employment among the members of the working class has forced wages so low that the wives and daughters and even the children of that class are obliged to yield up their lives to be coined into profits for a ruthless, criminal ruling class that says: "The public be damned," except when it is necessary to use the "poor public" to force wages down as was attempted by Wayne MacVeagh before the anthracite "arbitration" commission. Is this indictment enough against the class whose rule you support politically? If not, here is some more.

Because they are not allowed access to the means of self-support, the land and machinery, there are forced into prostitution annually upward of one hundred thousands of the daughters of the working class (you will never find a daughter of the ruling class in a bawdy house), where their lives average less than five years; and thirty-five thousand of the sons of that class are annually sent to State prison because, having been robbed of their rightful opportunity to make use of our industrial plant, they are forced into crime.

To conclude: You are utterly mistaken in your statement that 400,000 votes were cast in this country for Socialism. You have doubtless noticed that there are two parties in the field professing to be Socialist parties; the so-called Socialist party and the Socialist Labor Party.

The latter party was organized politically, in 1890 to teach and carry on

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The Working Class

There is noticeable in the formation and growth of the Socialist Labor Party a constant tendency for its work to be done more and more by workingmen, and though some may deny this and look with somewhat of alarm at the falling off of the intellectuals, yet it would appear that this is one of the most hopeful signs for the coming emancipation of the workers. This may be supported from not only one, but from many premises, and in addition it may be stated that the historical growth of the various working class movements, however divergent may have been their objects, offer substantial testimony in corroboration of the statement.

To some of the comrades a discussion may seem superfluous on this subject, but we certainly cannot deny that thousands of workingmen to-day have not the least confidence in their own class and that many new comrades are coming in who need to know and understand the questions herein set forth. Therefore in this short sketch an attempt will be made to show some of the premises on which such a hopeful view of this tendency and growth of the Socialist Labor Party is built. Also to mention briefly some few historical facts and incidents which tend to show the correctness of the premises. At this time also it seems particularly needful that the comrades should take note of this phase of the movement; first because of the recent happenings in the party, a good portion of those—however few, taken together, they were numbers—who sluffed off were what might be termed, though in a somewhat restricted sense, "intellectuals," and second, because of the number of that genus who are making the Socialist (7) Party a stamping ground for their intellectual bankruptcy, especially with regard to their mental conception of the needs of the working class in a political party relative to economic knowledge, principles, and tactics. It may be stated in passing that their conception of the powers and ability of the working class, i. e., that the working class is incapable of emancipating itself, is nothing but a reflex of their own intellectual bankruptcy in the face of the great social question to be solved.

Right here it is well to say that this article is not to be construed as a denunciation in any way from the efforts, abilities and devoted interest of those men of true intellectuality, who have brought their mental training into the working class movement, not to belittle the working class, but to strive in every way possible to place the movement on an ever more clear and scientific basis and to inculcate into the workingmen a desire for accurate scientific knowledge and training and a supreme confidence in their own versatility and virility. That the Socialist Labor Party is the only working class organization political, economic or otherwise, except the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, which in America strives to fulfill its duty in thus instilling confidence of the workers in its own class, is a proposition which should be obvious to every fair-minded person earnestly seeking the facts and the truth. A short but earnest examination into the history and methods of other organizations of labor in this country is sufficient to confirm the above statement. So we of the Socialist Labor Party can welcome to our ranks true intellectuality; not that kind which rates itself as so much per and is not a bit hesitating in the face with which it does so, either, but those men who will take their rank beside the grimy-handed great "unwashed" to do battle for the economic freedom of both intellectual and manual wage-slaves. With these prefatory remarks we will proceed to the main question.

The first premise on which it is necessary to lay stress is the confidence in its own ability which the continual activity

of socialist workingmen will inspire in those outside the ranks; for, a workingman who is outside the Socialist Labor Party will say: "If that workingman got his knowledge while engaged at his labor, why not I?" Thus instilling a pride which is altogether justified and will result in much benefit to the party, both in numbers and continual accumulating knowledge over ever larger areas of workingmen. It may be objected that this pride might lead to formidable breaches of discipline in the party, but it would not, because the very fact that this knowledge is a result of the cooperation of the workingmen earnestly seeking the truth would impress on them the correct method to use it, i. e., for the bringing in of an ever larger number of workingmen to enjoy the benefits which they have in their own experience seen to be the best way to acquire correct economic knowledge and understanding of the best political methods to pursue. Furthermore, the great and increasing number of ways of degrading and debauching the working class and the continually increasing scoundrelism and most contemptible fraudulent conduct of its so-called leaders is, in the first instance, a sufficient check on any overweening instillation of pride and confidence in the working class on the part of the Socialist Labor Party, and, in the second instance, the fraudulent conduct of so-called leaders will soon be seen to be the result of the lack of knowledge on the part of the workers themselves, thus pointing to them the necessity of submitting to the discipline of the Socialist Labor Party, both as its accredited spokesmen and as a militant socialist private. It may then be stated here in conclusion of this first premise, that when we, of the Socialist Labor Party, ask a man to join the party, we ask no more of him in discipline and obedience than each of us personally or collectively submit to. We point out, moreover, the distinct intention and purpose of the party and the strict necessity of this programme of discipline. Thus an increasing number of active, energetic working class comrades, cutting loose from all coddling to so-called intellectuality, and with a supreme confidence and pride in their class, is a hopeful sign for the Socialist Labor Party.

The next premise on which the correctness of this article is based is this: that a constantly increasing number of active working class comrades creates a respect and compels a deference and regard for the working class on the part of the intellectuals who line up with the party. They—the intellectuals—indeed, would be very shortsighted if, in the face of a large number of active, intelligent workingmen, they attempted to evade or sought to subvert the acknowledged principles and tactics of the party. The effects of such attempts has already been seen in the short history of the Socialist Labor Party. How each time any of that genus who sought to place him or herself on a pedestal, was quickly pulled down and a note of censure sounded in their ears. This serves as a warning to those who may hereafter contemplate such a thing. Right here mention should be made of those who, as workingmen, have come into the party, and, gaining economic knowledge and acquiring practical experience, such as speaking and writing, solely through their contact with it, have become "full of their own conceit" and imagine, like true monarchs, that they are "it." Comrades, we should never forget as workingmen to whom we owe our strength. We owe it to the organization! Each one as an individual owes his strength to the whole association that stands behind him. And it cannot be objected here that we become mere automata, either, for we have ample room to fructify the propaganda and impress our own individuality by concentrated effort in the improvement of the organization in all

its ramifications. So let the intellectuals come, but let the active workingmen in the Socialist Labor Party always be on the alert and in the breach to see that they never, by overt or covert means, betray or allure us from the path of clean cut revolutionary socialism or take us off the ground of the bitterly waged class struggle, on which ground is formed the impregnable and unconquerable position which we occupy to-day. So, it may be said again in view of the foregoing that our hopes and aspirations as a class are strengthened and fortified by strong bulwarks of sturdy workers active and alert, and a sure antidote to ministerialism.

Still another hopeful sign for the Socialist Labor Party in the increasing number of active and intelligent workingmen is the barrier it forms against mix-ups with middle class radicalism. Now, in the United States, and all over the capitalist world, for that matter, there has grown up a small class of people who are constantly fluctuating between small shopkeepers and wage-workers. Instilled as these people are with an idea that, sooner or later, by hook or crook, some of their ventures will land them into the asylum of ease and comfort, they are, as a class, narrow-minded and bigoted. The constant buffeting to which these people are subjected makes them extremely radical and anarchistic. From this class a large portion of the freakishness which prevails in various movements springs. These freaks, frauds and quacks have hitherto caused the party considerable trouble but they have now passed to the realm of "has beenism," so far as the Socialist Labor Party is concerned. These people, as a result of the continued failure of their own political movements of compromise, will seek the shelter of the S. L. P., and then a large number of active working class members will be found to form a sure protection against any attempts at scuttling the only bona fide working class political movement, the Socialist Labor Party. This will be seen to be all the more needful when, taken in connection with these small traders, we consider how a number of "intellectuals" are roped in by them, the intellectuals finding in their sickly sentimentalism and radicalism what they are pleased to call intelligence; the workingmen always being more inclined to good, honest, hard fighting for the cause will be more prone and have less of glamour and glitter in the propaganda. Many of those people carry with them into the movement their old ideas of individual success rather than inhibiting the ideas of the Socialist Labor Party, who work for the collective success of all. So, we can still see the advantage in having the main active work come from the working class.

And last but not least in the question dealt with here, is the keeping of the propaganda free from falling into dogmatic or doctrinaire discussions, where a "war of words" supersedes an active, living, breathing fight for the overthrow of capitalism. It might be said that the social or labor problem is solved for this age. All that is necessary now is to write it down as an historic fact. The question is, to secure the means to so write it that necessarily implies a political struggle which means action not words. A strong alert body of workingmen on the firing line of the Socialist Labor Party always keeps that staunch true political craft trained true to the cancer spot of capitalism, not wasting time in idle declamation on fanciful theories of future states of society. The workingmen of this day and age, despite the Philistine stupidity of bankrupt intellectuality to the contrary, are fast—knowers but a great deal faster than we Socialists ourselves suppose—coming to a knowledge of themselves taking hold of the turmoil and chaos caused by capitalism and restoring society to eco-

nomic civilization and peace, and an active working class vanguard taking the brunt of the fight and saying to all other workers: "Follow us; leave the doctrinaires and demagogues behind to turn their 'intellectual hand-springs' while we proceed on our way and land them into the 'society of the future,' 'to take stock' and learn sense. Workingmen, let us acquit ourselves well of this most noble task and thus give the lie to the whole freakish bunch that say we are incapable."

To the historical portion of this sketch it may be necessary to say here again that it is not the intention to detract for an instant from the great minds who precluded and who perfected the working class Socialist movement. Among the former we pay our sincere respect to Saint Simon, Fourier, Weitling, Owen and many others who wrote on the great social question and started the incipient movements of the working class for economic freedom. Among the latter we especially owe our respect and thanks to Marx, Engels, Lassalle, Leibknecht and the great number of others who gave Socialism that unshakable foundation on which it rests to-day. Nor is it intended to take a meed of praise from those who are to-day battling valiantly in the ranks of the working class alongside of workingmen.

With the foregoing in mind, the following statement is made, that, as the working class Socialist movement all over the world comes nearer and nearer to its goal—the overthrow of capitalism and the substitution of the Socialist Republic—the workingmen, or more strictly speaking, the manual laborers take ever more into their own hands the direction and active work of the movement. The above statement is surely justified when we consider the awful horror of the Commune disaster in Paris, France, and note that there were very few leading militant workingmen and a most woeful lack of sound economic knowledge.

The workingmen in that bitter struggle against the brutal, fiendish bourgeoisie could do nothing but die martyrs to the glorious cause, due to their own lack of previous training and unity on the objects to be attained, and the petty bickerings of their intellectual and middle class leaders, who were each more concerned over their own pet theories than the success of the whole affair.

No doubt they all wished for success, but that success was to come their way. Another great example of the ill success that attends working class movements, without men from their own ranks to take the lead, is the Levellers in England. You may say here that this was but a movement of workingmen who were in the first period of formation as a class; yet, even so, the very fact that they came together in one body and had men to voice their desires and aspirations, makes them a fair example of proof of the contention of this article. They serve to point out conclusively that the necessary forerunner of a victorious proletariat marching to its own emancipation, is predicated upon a stalwart, intelligent body of workingmen, whose resources are sufficient to enable them to step in and do the work when an "intellectual" or a freak fails us or passes away.

The great Chartist movement in England, where although a large number of workingmen were active and interested in it, yet most of the work was done by people from the "upper classes." The workingmen had not been drilled, educated and organized to that point where they themselves were able to take up the work and carry it through to a successful finish.

Men are men, not puppets, and although evolution in society as elsewhere pursues its way, yet we as beings, conscious of its action, must play an im-

THE INTELLECTUALS, AND THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

portant part in the final shaping of the destiny to which it points. "For weal or for woe" depends on us. And those examples of past history serve to warn us of the pitfalls to be avoided if it is to be for weal.

Let us take another incident from history that serves to illustrate the point. France again offers it. The revolution of 1848, where we see one of the first independent stirrings of workingmen who won the revolution arms in hand for the industrial bourgeoisie and were shot to death for their presumption when they sought some advantage for themselves. In that struggle they trusted their interests to the intellectuals and small traders' democracy. That class of people merely contented themselves with shouting for "liberty, equality, fraternity," and got a hideous caricature of an empire.

In the political arena to-day we have strong proof in support of this question. The Social Democratic party in Germany is in the throes of a mortal struggle to retain its pristine vigor and virility as a working class party. The intellectuals and demagogic freaks of the small-trader class are striving to force it into being merely a party of the opposition, i. e., to the upper capitalists.

Wilhelm Liebknecht, who struggled so long and so valiantly for uncompromising Socialism and political action, had his last years embittered by the strife against the reactionists. The German workingmen will be compelled to take hold and direct the movement there or else suffer themselves to be the buffers of every intellectual ass that comes along. Even though the number be small they constitute a mighty force, the only force which the capitalists of to-day stand in fear and in impotency.

In England the movement is made up of a mixture of "intellectuals," middle class freaks and a whole brigade of "graffers." The movement there is at loggerheads continually; one individual with another; one local or branch with another. We see there a Hyndman insulting the working class and throwing up the sponge, when now, under the spur of American competition, the British capitalist is seeking every method to drive the worker into further intensity of toil and degradation. Now when the opportunity is most favorable for the upbuilding of a strong working class political party, he deserts.

Right was Paul Lafargue when he said: "We should have to put off the triumph of Socialism not to the year 2,000, but to the end of the world, if we had to wait upon the delicate, shrinking and impressionable hesitancy of the intellectuals."

And, finally, to conclude this historical mention of facts with another quotation from Lafargue. He says: "Since 1789 governments of the most diverse and opposed character have succeeded each other in France, and always without hesitation the intellectuals have hastened to offer their devoted services."

Then, comrades and workingmen, let us not bemoan or bewail this condition; but let us be up and doing. Educate, organize! must be our slogan. Let us kick the social debris scattered in our way by the capitalists to the "four winds of heaven," and let it serve to make us only the more determined to conquer, for conquer we must and conquer we shall.

The fields lay ripe before us. Take up the gauntlet thrown down by reaction and conservatism; lift up the beautiful blood-red banner of Socialism and under its swelling folds let us found a new republic, where "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" will break forth into a joyous song! Speed away, for "time and the tide wait no man!" Yours for that glad morning,

William Knight.

Pueblo, Col.

Debate on the Miners' Strike in France—Attitude of Parties.

and Bouhey-Alex:

"The Chamber, recognizing that the painful occurrence of Terrenoire could not have been possible if the agencies of public force had not long contracted the habit of looking upon a strike as a crime; convinced moreover the use of armed force as a preventive rather aggravates than reduces the dangers of violence, and that the progress of the trade unions is the best guarantee for the legal and peaceful march of strikes, goes over to the order of business."

Both motions being rejected the following motion, signed by Gouzy, Sarrin, Etienne and Jaures, was submitted: "The Chamber, in view of the declaration of the president of the Council that he will press in both Chambers a discussion and vote upon reforms affecting the mine workers, and relying on the minister's firmness and wisdom to uphold in full the liberty to labor, and the free exercise of the right to strike, requests the minister to use all his influence to cause the parties interested to submit to arbitration, and the Chamber now passes to the order of the day."

The motion was adopted by 375 votes against 164. This debate and the issue thereof has solidified the ranks of the Revolutionary Socialist group, and has cracked the Parliamentary Socialist group. Jaures, by attaching his signature to a motion that pretends to uphold the "right to labor"—a hypocritical term in the capitalist regime, and so thoroughly exposed by the Socialists—seems thereby to have officially renounced all activity in specific Socialist politics.

The Parliamentary Socialist group (this group is made up of the Jaures-Millerandists, who hold that political offices may be accepted by Socialists at the hands of a capitalist government, and who call themselves "practical" and "intellectual." This group corresponds to the party in America called Social Democratic or Socialist party.) presented the following motion, signed by Aristide Briand, Jaures, de Presence, Piger, Charpentier, Francon, Fournier

Books for Workers

IT SHOULD BE THE AMBITION OF EVERY INTELLIGENT WORKINGMAN WHO APPRECIATES THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN HIS CLASS AND THAT OF THE CAPITALISTS TO STRENGTHEN HIMSELF FOR THE PART HE MUST TAKE IN THE GREAT CONFLICT. TO DO THIS IT IS NECESSARY THAT HE CONSTANTLY ADD TO HIS STOCK OF INFORMATION. THE BOOKS SUPPLIED BY THE LITERARY AGENCY OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY WILL BE FOUND ESPECIALLY SUITABLE FOR THIS PURPOSE. ANY BOOK OR PAMPHLET IN THE FOLLOWING LIST WILL BE PROMPTLY FORWARDED ON RECEIPT OF PRICE.

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TWENTY PRIZES WILL BE AWARDED FOR THE MOST ORIGINAL COSTUMES

In French Parliament

The below passages, taken from the Paris Movement Socialiste, are of interest in America for more reasons than one.

They reproduce the attitude of the political parties in sight of the approaching social storm. Therein is reproduced the hypocritical and criminal conduct of the ruling class and the political parties that it is divided into; therein is reproduced the straightforward, uncompromising attitude of the honest Socialist Party in France, represented in the Chamber of Deputies by the Revolutionary Socialist group, and corresponding in America to the Socialist Labor Party, and therein is reproduced the vacillating, pusillanimous and treasonable conduct of the so-called "Parliamentary Socialists," who in France fill the role of the "Socialist," alias Social Democratic party in America.

The debate is furthermore of interest in the light it throws upon the characteristics of soldiers and police at times. The subject is especially interesting now that the relation of unions to militia is up.

Deputy Thivier of the Revolutionary Socialist group in the Chamber energetically demanded that the government cease to employ troops against the strikers. He said:

"The right to strike is well recognized by law. Nevertheless, what with the nature of the training given to the troops, and what with the nature of the education that the police has received, it is unavoidable that these forces, once in sight of the strikers, look upon them as elements of disorder and of trouble that they are called upon to repress. (Applause from the extreme left.)

"That is so much so that it is with loaded guns that the troops march to the scene of a strike.

"At Terrenoire, notably, the police had bullets in their revolvers. (Objections from the right.)

"The slightest incident, more or less

within the jurisdiction of a simple police court, gives occasion for the soldiers and police to arrogate the right of killing (Violent opposition from the center and right), and, as happened at Terrenoire, to butcher workingmen, whose sole crime consisted in demanding a little more comfort for themselves and their families. (Hear! Hear! Hear! from the extreme left.)

"And going further back in history, the empire with its Rismaire, the republic with its Fourmies, Chalons and Martignole—all of them prove to us that in capitalist society, whatever the political regimen may be, the workingmen always are at the mercy of the ferocity of the troops sent against them." (Applause from the extreme left. Opposition from the center and right.)

Deputy Briand supported Deputy Thivier by giving an account of the events that led to the death of the unfortunate Jean Colombe, assassinated by the police. He showed the incident was not possible except in connection with a strike. It was impossible in ordinary times. Developing this idea he said:

"By virtue of his status, by virtue of his office, a soldier can not be a neutral. When he is put in action, when he is ordered to march, then, in his spirit, it ever is AGAINST SOMEONE. (Applause from the extreme left.)

"By the simple fact of motion, he searches with his eyes, and instinctively, so to speak, the enemy that he is pitched against. Now then, seeing that strikes being on, he is formally forbidden to communicate with the strikers, and that, on the other hand, he is not forbidden to communicate with the employers, the enemy is thus quite plainly pointed out to him—it is the men on strike.

"As to the police, who have been charged with observing the movements of the strikers, their actions and their gestures, I challenge anyone to so manage that they exercise this office of sur-

veillance in a spirit of neutrality. When a policeman keeps his eyes open it is always with a hostile ulterior thought. (Applause from the extreme left.)

"We Socialists, who have a horror of shedding blood, even when the blood be that of our worst enemy, all that we ask—and we have a right to demand it—is that moderation be dealt equally.

"Upon that point I hope we shall get satisfaction, and that the president of the Council will, from the height of this very tribune, announce the decisive measures that he has taken or is about to take, to the end his agents shall display the same degree of patience and calmness that they bestowed upon the rebels of Brittany.

"But, gentlemen, the true solution, the just and logical solution, the solution that shall conform with the sentiment that the majority of this Chamber is said to be animated with, would be to inaugurate in the matter of strikes a truly republican policy. And this government would do honor to itself by a comprehensive and democratic interpretation of the right to strike, it were to break with the detestable traditions that all republicans spurned under the empire. For, after all, by what right are men on strike treated as felons? Why take against them all those preventive measures that are equally injurious and humiliating? Why appeal to the army in a strike?

"You may tell me, Mr. President, that a strike is always accompanied with the risk of disorder and violence, and that it is the duty of all government to take precautions against such contingencies. To that I answer that, so far from lessening such risks, your precautions only increase them by adding to them a further risk, infinitely more serious, the risk that ever rises from the contact between soldiers and policemen with men on strike."

In the course of his answer to the interpellation the minister of the Council justified the sending of troops and said in the regular reactionary style:

"A triple object imposed itself to the solicitude of the government. First, to place persons and property under protection against violence; second, to secure the freedom of labor wherever labor demanded to be protected (Hear! Hear! from the center and the right), and, thirdly, to respect the rights of the strike in its legitimate purposes.

"That is the triple impulse that we obeyed in causing our action to be felt from the first day, and in emphasizing it in the measure that the strike gained in strength and area.

"In all this we have proceeded after a concerted plan, agreed upon between the ministerial departments that were interested. It can not be justly said that we have not attained the desired end."

At the close of the debate the Revolutionary Socialist group offered the following motion signed by Paul Constans, Allard, Bouvier, Chauviere, Jules Coutant, Delory, Dufour, Dejeante, Sembat, Thivier, Vaillant and Walter:

"The Chamber condemns the armed intervention of the government in strikes, an intervention that, under color of defending the right to labor, is wholly directed against the strike and the strikers. The Chamber calls upon the government to withdraw immediately all the military forces from the mining districts where the miners have stopped work, and it decides to take up during the present session the questions of the strike to the end of meeting them in the interests of the mine workers."

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1892..... 2,068

In 1896..... 21,157

In 1898..... 89,564

In 1900..... 34,191

IS IT APPROACHING?

Odd sounds are reaching the ear from far and near, odd because of the constant song about "Unprecedented Prosperity" that our politicians are singing.

From Russia comes the news of "terrible distress." "Little work and low wages." In Saratoff, said to present a fair example of prevailing conditions, hosts of beggars are reported to be literally invading shops and houses, while "the streets are filled with the sick and starving."

From England comes the news that the Labor market is overstocked with the greatest number of unemployed ever seen in the country for ten years. Figures are given. The number is said to be not below 500,000, and is steadily swelling, the proportion of skilled men among them growing by the day, and the men "literally fighting for a chance to work."

From Manila the news comes of widespread distress. At least 90 per cent of field animals are dead on the archipelago, and famine, starvation and pestilence stalk over our colonies.

And nearer at home, what sounds reach the ear from Wall street, said to be the heart of the nation, and whose pulsations denote the nation's spirit? Stocks are weak and tumbling; money scarce; investors frightened. Of this the Carnegie concern, the United States Steel Corporation, serves well as an example. Its stock is so low, both common and preferred, that investment in the latter would earn 7 per cent, while investment in the former would fetch 11 per cent. And despite the fact that money is "plentiful" and "is anxiously seeking investment," as anxiously we may be sure as a hungry wolf prowls for food, despite all that the stock is low and sinking.

What are these the symptoms of? It is not distant Russia or "dago" Philippines alone the whistling of the approaching storm comes from. It is not even England alone. It is right here. Right at home, the ominous piping is heard that portends the hurricane of the approaching crisis—that periodical fruit of the collective wisdom of the Captains of Industry.

THE "VENEZUELAN COMPLICATIONS."

There are two distinct "Venezuelan Complications" on the tapis. One is trite, the other fresh; one is distant, the other nearby; one is a farce, the other a thrilling drama.

The one of these two "Complications"—the trite, the distant, the farcical—is being enacted some 1800 miles from the City Hall of New York. The navies of "first class powers," long known in those condones and "history" as the "collectors for fishy debts," are foregathered along the coasts of Venezuela, as they have so often before all along the littoral of Latin America, in the endeavor to enforce claims that in any other court would be summarily thrown out, together with the claimants, as preposterous, if not fraudulent. The move is trite enough to hardly deserve a "C-H-E-A-R" news paragraph. It is so trite that notwithstanding the occasional solemn instances when the would-be "collectors" had to withdraw with furred flags and broken heads, as from Mexico in 1849, '61 and '65, Peru in '84, Argentina in the forties, San Domingo in '64, etc., etc.—it is, we say, so trite that the rule of the would-be "collectors" clearing out, much as impudent, sassy and red-nosed deputé-Sheriffs are frequently induced to clear out when pretending to want to make a levy, gives a generic color to the move. That "Venezuelan Complication" calls, but for passing notice. Trite, distant and farcical, it is not even interesting.

Otherwise with the other "Venezuelan Complication." It is not trite, but fresh; it is not a farce, but a thrilling drama. This particular "Venezuelan Complication" is being fought out within a stone's throw of our City Hall; and that the fight is hot there are all visible proofs of. It is visible in the editorial and also in the reportorial columns of

the metropolitan capitalist press. Some of these have been bought by the fishy creditors of Venezuela, and their language is full of self-righteousness: "trifling," "dodging," "debtors must be taught a lesson." Others betray quite clearly the fact that the negotiations to buy them have broken off: they are trotting out the rickety ghost of the Monroe Doctrine. A third set finds itself on the "anxious seat": if negotiations have approached them, the negotiations are still on: if not yet approached, they would like to be: in the meantime this set is journalizing on both sides of the question, and "showing what they can do" by exhibiting samples of their power of invective: they are like dogs in the leash, anxious for the fray, i. e., for a bribe. And as these three sets snarl, who is so flint-hearted as not to feel his heart touched at the tragedy enacted back of all these several degrees of snarl? Who does not feel interested in the "issue." For here, indeed, is an issue. It is "to be or not be." Even tho' one may not have the gambler's spirit, he can't but feel at least his curiosity pricked. Will paper so-and-so's "samples" secure something for it? How much did paper so-and-so get? The bribe-fund of the fishy creditors is a limited magnitude. What one bribe gets is not there for any other. Like a pack of hounds these capitalist metropolitan papers are tugging at a bone. This, indeed, is a "complication." Not even in Venezuela, should the worse come to the worse, will the battle lines surge to and fro more thrillingly than they are surging now—under the shadow of our City Hall.

MANY POINTS IN ONE.

Among the many valuable letters brought to this office by yesterday morning's mail, the following deserves special mention:

New York, Dec. 7, 1902.
To the Editor of The People:
Sir: At the meeting of "Big 6" today, which I attended, the following resolution came up for discussion:

"Whereas, Funeral and out-of-work benefits are among the advantages to be derived from membership in this organization; and

"Whereas, Members of militia organizations lay themselves more liable to death and injury through the performance of their duties, thus greatly increasing the financial risks of this organization; therefore, be it hereby resolved, That the monthly dues for said members of militia organizations are hereby increased to ten dollars (\$10) per month, and that henceforth the initiation fee for members of militia organizations shall be one hundred (\$100) dollars."

Somebody moved to lay the resolution on the table. The President then interposed saying that "the Union ought to go on record as being opposed to any such resolution, as No. 6 was always loyal to the Constitution and to the militia." Motion to lay on the table was put and lost. A man then made a motion to adopt the resolution. The motion was seconded. Three or four men were on their feet wishing to debate the matter, but this fact notwithstanding, the President refused to recognize them and he put the motion. The motion was defeated. I never saw such subservience to capitalist interests before, nor such high-handed parliamentary procedure on the part of a presiding officer, nor meek submission on the part of the men, no, not even in No. 6's meetings.

To realize the movements of fakir-dom, one must become a class-conscious Socialist; and I should also invert the proposition and say that in order to become a class-conscious workingman one should be well acquainted with the movements of fakir-dom.

With facts piled mountain-high it has been proved in these columns that the pure and simple Union is not a wheel in the mechanism of the Labor Movement, but is a wheel in the mechanism of the institution of Capitalism. The facts mentioned by our correspondent, though cumulative, illumine the pile of evidence. What the militia is everybody knows, and everybody also knows that all the claims set forth about an anti-militia attitude being in violation of the constitution are false claims, claims that falsify the constitution. In fact, so far from a hostile attitude to the militia being unconstitutional, the reverse is true. The present attitude of capitalism on the militia reads into the Constitution that which the Constitution expressly excludes. What, then, does it mean when in these days a President of a Union can go unchallenged in declaring the "Union's loyalty to the militia"? It is a sign that the last, tho' not least, point that our correspondent brings means only this: The Union is an upholder of capitalism, and its officers are but labor lieutenants of the capitalist class.

Again, across the face of the resolution, "Cowardice" is written. What its purpose was is evident, and yet it dared not say so. It sneaked around. It sought to give the militia a stab in the back, while kissing it, and the stab was to be placed upon "business principles"—the raising of the dues was explained by the "liability to death and injuries" that the members of the militia (poor dearies!) are exposed to, in the "performance of their duties!"

Did ever sneak-murderer sneak more creepingly towards his victim? Not in the essence merely but in the form the pure and simple Trades Union is capitalistic. It upholds capitalism, and it demeans itself like a coward.

The additional point of the brutality with which the pure and simple labor lieutenant of capitalism runs his outfit. The flannelmouthed labor fakir, in chorus with his understrappers—the tyrant and the tyrannized—utters anathema against "the tyranny of the Socialist Labor Party." Watch the crew! If an understrapper, he plays the spaniel to his Union's tyrant; if not an understrapper, he is the tyrant himself. In either case it is the genuine article—tyranny of the most galling nature, a tyranny that stands rebuked by the manly dignity of the S. L. P., which can brook neither domination nor spaniels.

As capitalism proper daily furnishes ammunition to the theory of the Socialist Labor Party, so does the fakir-led pure and simple Trades Union, the menial of capitalism, daily furnish the Party with ammunition for the Party's tactics.

"GENOSSE TAENZER."

The New York City local of the so-called Socialist party, known in this State as Social Democratic party, held on the 7th instant a meeting in this city on the subject of the "California Troubles," these "troubles" having been brought on by the fusion of the California wing of the so-called Socialist party with the Union Labor party, whereby a candidate of the Democratic party, Livernash, became a candidate of the said so-called Socialist party. The "New Yorker Volkszeitung" gives an extensive account of the debate. In this debate, as on most other occasions, it is found that the "sense of the body" finds expression through and is incarnated in one man,—"Genosse Taenzler." The following is a conscientious translation of what the "Genosse" said:

"As a party, we have nothing to do with the Unions. By summoning the Trades Unions to independent political action, we invite just such occurrences as befell in California. If we persist in our present system of agitation, we shall soon have here also a Union Labor party. In Milwaukee and in Wisconsin, such things are impossible. There the Unions are invited merely to send delegates to the convention of our party, where none but party members can be nominated."

As the sticking qualities of the mudlage manufactured by Stickwell, and hence known as Stickwell's Mucilage, are providentially advertised by the name of the manufacturer himself, so in this instance, the salutary qualities of the Trades Union "policy" of the so-called Socialist party enunciated by "Genosse Taenzler"—Comrade Dancer or Hopper—are providentially elucidated by the name itself of its best exponent, indeed, its incarnation. Translated into the vernacular, the dancing or hopping qualities of the Trades Union "policy" of the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic party, are these:

"We want the votes of the fakir-led pure and simple Trades Unions; also, and very much so, do we want their money,—as much, at least, thereof as we can get. Hence, we must talk politics to them; hence, above all, we must praise them; whatever rascality they commit, we must laud as a noble waging of the class struggle; however stupidly felonious their leaders may behave, we must sing their praises as 'champions of labor'; whatever infamous slander these leaders may set afoot against the Socialist Labor Party for exposing their treason to the Working Class, we must make ourselves telephones of. No crawling, no money." And money we need to fight the S. L. P.

Having hopped on that leg up to that point, the "policy" throws itself on the other leg and dances back:—

"But we must not say 'Independent Labor Politics.' If we do, the pesky Union fellows will take the bit between their teeth, and set up a political party of their own, a Union Labor party. And then the S. L. P. has beaten us with our own weapon."

Having danced back on this other leg, the "policy" again throws itself on the first leg and hops forward again:—

"We can not get at the votes, especially the money of the fakir-led Unions, unless we 'bore from within.' To lambaste them 'from without,' as does the S. L. P., would be to pull tight against us the strings of their purses. 'No wrongs hushed, no hush-money.' And what would become of our press, that can not live without such hush-money?"

Having again hopped forward so far, the "policy" once more throws itself on the other leg and dances back again:—

"But if we boast them, and inflate them with their own importance; if we habituate them to the first fiddle role with ourselves as modest 'borders from within' second fiddle, they will consider themselves THE THING. The purse rules. They have the purse. And we are goners."

Having thus bumped itself on either leg, the "policy" then performs a ballet

dancer's prouette whirl to this effect:—

"There is only one way out,—humbly turn them all around. Tell them they are the WHOLE THING, and treat them as NOTHING. Make them believe they are going into politics, but treat them as food for cannon only. Humor them with the idea that they got something to say, and take the plug from under the idea by limiting the candidates they can vote for"; etc., etc.

It takes a very swift whirl to so completely turn a man's head as to cause him to imagine that such a course will stand. One must be very much of a Taenzler (dancer) to grow so giddy. But "Genosse Taenzler" is, we said, the incarnation of the bogus Socialist party, and as such, the dance he dances he is forced to by the music that the Socialist Labor Party plays;—and a wild dance it is that the S. L. P. leads him.

One thing or the other: either "boring from within" is the correct thing, and then a Union Labor party "bored from within by Socialism" is the only logical political manifestation of the Socialist Movement; or "boring from without" is the correct thing, and then only the Socialist Labor Party is entitled to the floor.

The issue is between these two ideas. One or the other must prevail. All salatorial Tuenzerien will dance themselves off the stage.

"GOOD!" SAYS JENKS.

Professor Jeremiah W. Jenks has made to the Secretary of War certain recommendations looking to the importation of Chinese Labor under contract in the Philippines. Needless to say that the Professor's recommendations are off-shoots of the purposes at bottom of the forcible annexation of the 10,000,000 Filipinos to the United States.

The annexation of the Philippine Islands had for its purpose the dumping into the already overstocked Labor Market of America the hordes of cheap Labor that could not be conveniently deported into our territory. The annexation of the Philippines was intended as a masterly flank move, out-flanking and catching in the rear the Anti-Immigration Movements in America. Instead of importing cheap Labor, America, so to speak, deported herself to the cheap Labor. The end was the same. At least the purpose was the same.

"Clever" tho' the move was, its clever schemers ran up against a fact they had not counted with: the climatic characteristics of the peoples they had annexed. The Filipino has no "sense of push": he won't be driven; he likes to take things easy; he has an aggravating inclination to enjoy life while he lives. Professor Jenks' recommendations are intended to meet the unexpected difficulty. The Chinese, with a mania for work and meekness, are right at hand, at the very doors of the Philippine Islands. To them the Professor turns his eyes. His recommendations are a sort of "Supplementary Treaty of Paris." By the Treaty of Paris the American capitalist class meant, but did not quite succeed, to secure all the cheap Labor they hanker after; by Professor Jenks' recommendations the boon is to be nailed fast. Not only is the Chinese to be allowed free ingress into the Islands, but he may be brought in by contract.

As Professor Jenks was complacently rubbing his hands at his supplementary master-scheme, his gladness was suddenly checked, at least somewhat. His eagle eye detected danger: his keen nose smelled it. The swindle of the Treaty of Paris upon the Working Class of America was boosted over the stile by the double cry of "Patriotism!" and "Prosperity!" There is not now any cry of "Patriotism!"; and, as to "Prosperity!"; that cry is choked in the revelations before the Coal Arbitration Commission; it is choked in the sufferings of increasing numbers of unemployed; it is choked in the statistical figures that tell of a positive decline in wages of over 30 per cent. since 1890; it is choked in the panicky condition of Wall street, where all these and many more symptoms of national distress are speedily felt. With the cry of "Patriotism!" un-invokable, and conditions so distressing that the cry of "Prosperity!" would turn into a sob, the supplemental swindle of Professor Jenks' Chinese Labor recommendations seemed in danger. The Professor saw and smelled the danger, when, lo!, help comes to him from an unexpected quarter.

A circular appears. It carries six signatures—a sort of six-tandem affair, fitly vanned by Hanna's First Vice-President, Gompers, and the rear fitly brought up by Hanna's Eleventh Vice-President, Hoyim Korkorowsky, alias Henry White. The circular is upon Professor Jenks' recommendations. It seems to have a hostile coloring. But what of that? That only adds to its real service to the Professor's schemes. It closes with a loud trumpet blast in honor of "THE GROUND ALREADY GAINED AT HOME"!!!

"Good!" said Professor Jenks, when the 'gain' consists in a steady sinking, as good as the 'Prosperity!' cry in aid of the Treaty of Paris when the dinner pail was growing slenderer. "Good!" said Professor Jenks once more, "the game is safe!"

And he smiled in placid contentment. The incidents attending the coal famine are such as to cause the hot blood to surge through one in indignant protest. The scenes of struggle at places where coal is sold cheap, the great distress and suffering, amid snow and sleet, of the working class, the tales of death from cold amid surroundings of poverty and the helpless dependence of immense multitudes upon a few arrogant and exorbitant coal operators for warmth—all this fires one's being and calls forth unmeasured condemnation. This condemnation is, in a way, very good. It is the necessary prelude to a remedy. Were such conditions submissively tolerated then the race were in a bad way indeed. But condemnation is not enough. Without a true comprehension of the nature of the difficulty and a remedy in accord therewith, the spirit of protest so necessary to social progress would be run into the ground. This is well reflected in some correspondence to The Daily People. One writer believes that President Baer should be jailed and cheap coal delivered instantly. Another is of the opinion that the same gentleman should be given to understand that what is wanted is coal and not strictures on constitutions. What good the arrest of Baer would do is not clear, another and bigger Baer would take his place. The same may be said of the suppression of his role as a constitutional breaker: in this land of capitalist domination and free speech the arrogant presumptions of such gentlemen have full sway. What must be done is to understand that these conditions prevail because of the private ownership of capital, which is social in organization and result; what must be done then is to destroy our economic dependence on the capitalist class by making the mines and machinery social property, to be democratically organized and operated for the benefit of the workers and producers. To paraphrase the words of Thomas Paine, who said: "We must not destroy the monarchs, but monarchy," we must concern ourselves not with capitalists, but with capitalism. With society owning the mines their operations would be conducted according to use, determined by social necessity, and not as now, by no other criterion than the profits of vampire capitalists.

Dr. Lyman Abbott's logic is fearfully and wonderfully contradictory. He contends in an address delivered before Columbia University, that "Our tendencies are from the individualistic to the Socialistic." Yet he maintains that "All the powers of the State should be called at any hazard to protect any man in his desire to work, whether he is a union man or not, or whether there is a strike or not." The doctor, in other words, would practically desert his theory and use the powers of the State to uphold the individualistic system that is in conflict with "our tendencies"; he flies not only in the face of applied reasoning, but in the face of industrial tendencies. Nothing better can be expected from a man straddling a barbed wire fence. His position is bound to be both painful and ridiculous.

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Whenever capitalists wish to score a point against any measure they do not favor, they declare that their employees and the working class generally are opposed to it. As no ballot free from capitalist intimidation is ever taken to determine the matter, the occult processes by which the capitalists arrive at this conclusion are never known. The result is that the conclusion is generally regarded as a work of the imagination. Accordingly, when P. Walter Jenks, general manager of the American Steel Company, is opposing the bill before Congress, limiting the hours of labor on government work to eight a day, says "That 70 per cent. of the men would refuse to be limited to eight hours a day if a vote were taken," we are inclined to regard the statement as belonging to the realms of industrial fiction.

That the working class is a heroic class is daily evidenced by the risks it assumes in the industrial field. Daily its members imperil their lives that society may be sustained and progress. At times their dangers are such as to call into play their admirable qualities and prove that heroes of greater stature are to be found among the men of the working class than among the professional heroes in the capitalist army and navy. Such a hero was Joseph Murray, a subway tunnel foreman, who rushed into danger to save twenty of his fellow workmen from being crushed to death by a falling boulder. As a result, Murray was mortally injured, his skull having been fractured and one of his legs broken by the flying debris. The pity of it all is that such heroism must be exerted in the economic interests of a class that despises the very men displaying it.

The consolidation of the National Bank of the United States and the Western National Bank, which brings financial interests of the first magnitude into harmonious relations, has served to call attention to the closer concentration of capital in banking institutions at home and abroad. Such concentration is logical and inevitable. The whole movement of industrial concentration is essentially financial. To quote the Socialist Almanac (p. 120), "The very nature of it requires that it should be led and shaped by financiers who make no distinction between industries, have no preference for one or the other, and view all commodities in the light of exchange value, leaving to technical men in their employ all technical considerations of the manufacturing and commercial order as to their respective value." Why then should there not be a financial concentration—a concentration of concentration, as it were—in order that industrial concentration may be better advanced and controlled?

The Michigan professor who has discovered seven new poisons does not state whether or not they can be used for adulterating foods or embalming meats in the Beef Trust.

When the Hearst class now take the shoot they are taking, they but seek to profit by their own wrong; they but seek to ride into greater safety on the crest of discontent that tops the wave of misery raised by their own felonious system of capitalism.

What Humanity is demanding through the Working Class is not the transfer of ownership from the individual capitalist to the capitalist government. What it demands is not the "Communism of Capitalist Pelt." What it demands is the overthrow of wage-slavery, and the resulting system of ownership by the Working Class of the land on and the tool with which to work.—This is Socialism.

Humanity demands Socialism. The Capitalist Class is seeking asylum in Hearstism.

Bishop Potter's warning to labor unions not to go too far sounds menacing. In thus acting as a capitalist bully this "disinterested" member of the Civic Federation's Arbitration Commission exposes his fine Italian hand.

The Belgian attempt to penalize profanity will receive no support from this country, whose strenuousness makes profanity a safety valve, dangerous to tie down.

Why can't the Kaiser come? Are the Social Democrats keeping him busy looking after the "honor" of the Krupps of Germany?

TYPICAL HEARST

The New York "Journal" or "American," Wm. R. Hearst's paper, of the 11th instant has an article entitled: "How do you like the Consequences of Private Ownership of the Mines?" It enumerates these consequences. They are:

A six months' strike of 147,000 miners;

The quadrupling of the price of coal; Widespread business depression; Women and men and children dying of cold.

The article closes with a positive disclaimer that the Democratic party's plank is Socialism; and the disclaimer, in itself, is just. Nevertheless, the merest fool can see that, positive as the disclaimer is, it has all the earmarks of a dodge.

It evidently is intended, on the one hand, to disarm opposition from the side of anti-Socialists, and on the other to rope in the Socialists, at least to capture the floating Socialistic sentiment. As to the Socialists, they will see through the fraud. The vast masses of the working class, just now inclining towards Socialism, may, however, be caught in the trap. To them a word of warning is needed.

In the first place, where, among the "consequences of private ownership," above recited is found "wage slavery"? It is not there. Not being there, the conclusion is that "wage slavery" is not an "evil consequence," and that Mr. Hearst's nationalization plank will preserve it. And this is the fact.

Wage slavery is the condition under which the capitalist system holds the working class. Capitalism makes of the worker a merchandise, bought and sold in the Labor market. Socialism aims at the emancipation of Labor, Hearst nationalization does not; on the contrary, it proposes to keep the workingman right there. How capitalist governments treat their Working Class employees need not here be rehearsed.

By the light of this fact, the first of the "consequences" recited above as evil, and to be eliminated by the Hearst method, acquires special significance. It is an evil to have 147,000 miners go out and stay on strike six months, and truly the fact is a direct result of private ownership; under capitalist government ownership the thing would be impossible. Why? Because the workers would be so much better off and disinclined to strike? A thousand times no. He would not go on strike for the reason that over and above the yoke of wage-slavery, there would be another holding him down, to wit, the yoke of the armed power of his employer, the capitalist Government. A strike against the Government is easily construed into rebellion and treason, and treated as such. As in Glasgow, employees of capitalist Government-owned industries are submissively meek.

In line with this first "consequence" that the Hearst method would remove, are the two following ones,—higher prices and business depression. Being a wage slave, the employee of the Hearst or capitalist Government-owned industry is no better off under low prices or brisk business. He is a merchandise and the lower the prices of his necessities of life sink, all the lower sinks his own price in the Labor Market, regardless of brisk business or otherwise. He to profit is the Hearst class of idle capitalists.

Finally, the point is accentuated by the fourth of the evil "consequences" of private ownership. As shown under the head of the preceding three, the scheme is truly capitalistic, with the workingman there to pay the piper. The fourth "consequence" enumerated brings out capitalist hypocrisy. "Women and men and children dying of cold" sounds kind. But the fact remains that not a winter passes over the head of the Working Class without women and men and children dying of cold, when they did not die directly mangled in the capitalists' shop, or indirectly through disease, brought on by long undermining of their health by the Hearst class through its capitalist system.

When the Hearst class now take the shoot they are taking, they but seek to profit by their own wrong; they but seek to ride into greater safety on the crest of discontent that tops the wave of misery raised by their own felonious system of capitalism.

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Why can't the Kaiser come? Are the Social Democrats keeping him busy looking after the "honor" of the Krupps of Germany?

Concentration will this year give society a Christmas gift in the form of a ten million dollar toy trust. A toy trust at this season is quite appropriate.

With an increased output and an increased price per ton, who will say that the anthracite coal strike was not a victory for the coal operators?



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—Oh, how cruel those Socialists are!

UNCLE SAM—Inasmuch as to which?

B. J.—And so inconsiderate!

U. S.—For instance?

B. J.—And they care not whether their Juggernaut car tramples down women, children, the widow or the weak!

U. S.—Are you sure?

B. J.—Yes just think of it. Say that a lone widow has just one tenement house. The Socialists would take that away from her and let her starve.

U. S.—Where is that widow?

B. J.—Where?

U. S.—Yes.

B. J.—I don't know.

U. S.—Nor anybody else. That lone widow is a myth; and the whole yarn is a myth, and a very clumsy one.

B. J. fumbles in his pockets as if looking for the lone widow.

U. S.—The yarn is clumsy because, suppose that there is such a lone widow, whose only source of a living is a tenement, your position amounts to this: that it is better that one lone widow should live, than that scores of children should live.

B. J.—How so?

U. S.—These tenements are death-traps. Ventilation is impossible without drafts. The space is so small that privacy, and consequently, decency is impossible. The body and the mind of the child in those pest-holes are undermined. The mortality of the children in tenements is something shocking. And those who survive are apt to be stunted in mind and body. Now, say you, "let it be; let the children die and grow rickety rather than remove that tenement and have the widow die!" The Socialist, on the other hand, says: "If there be such a 'lone widow,' such a cormorant, unable to live unless children be sacrificed wholesale, then let her be the one sacrificed, tear down her tenement, and along with it the social system that sacrifices the tolling masses in order that the idle few may live in clover!"

B. J. looks knocked out.

U. S.—Now, who is the cruel fellow, the Socialist who would extirpate death-traps, or the fellow whose libel you repeat like a parrot?

B. J. keeps silent.

U. S. (poking B. J. in the ribs).—Lost your impudent voice? Answer!

